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CIO and AFL Unionists Join Forces in Southern Strikes

'New' Polio Plan Continues Policy Of Profits-First

By Myra Tanner

MAY 16 — Thirty-five days have passed since the success of the Salk vaccine was announced — thirty-five days of crisis. In this period the American people have witnessed a sickening spectacle of profiteering, black market operations, the issuance of defective and ineffective vaccine and tragic shortages. Inoculation programs have started and stopped. Vaccine has been issued and withdrawn. Secret government conferences have kept the people in the dark as to what was happening and why.

Finally, on May 16, in answer to the wave of bitter disappointment and anger that swept the U.S., Eisenhower and his Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby, presented an eleven-point "plan" for meeting the crisis. The only new legislation that will be required by this "plan" is the proposal for a $28 million appropriation to supplement the inadequate funds of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and $2 million for expansion of inspection forces to police the manufacturers of the vaccine.

Everything else in the "plan" is a rehash of the very procedures that led to the vaccine crisis.

BUSINESS AS USUAL

The six private companies will still have sole responsibility for production and distribution of the vaccine. Advice on priorities is dished out generously, in almost the same words of more than a month ago. But there is still no way to prevent profiteering, black markets, or any of the anarchy that has prevailed in the vaccine program to date.

Taking note of the demands for federal control of distribution of the vaccine, the Eisenhower-Hobby "plan" rejects this demand and stands pat in defense of previous procedures: "The most effective and equitable distribution of the vaccine will be accomplished through the voluntary cooperation of all concerned, within the framework of existing law."

In the first place, the government did nothing to aid science in its long struggle to conquer infantile paralysis. Research was financed by the nickels and dimes of millions of people. Over a period of a decade and a half, in this way, $14 million was given to research.

The government spends billions for atom bombs, billions to protect imperialist interests in Korea, Indo-China and Europe — $200 million for just one aircraft carrier, the Forrestal. But to win one battle in the war of humanity against disease and death caused by polio, until now — nothing.

And even now, they still refuse to spend enough to guarantee protection for all as we move into another polio season. Protection for children outside of the five-to-nine age group is not even projected sooner than the end of 1956; and for young adults, not even then.

The Salk vaccine was a gift from science and the people. Eisenhower and Hobby took that gift, had their pictures taken

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1,500 Unionists Picket 'Red' Probe in Newark

By Daniel Roberts

SWP Candidate for N. J. State Senate, Essex County

NEWARK, May 19 — The House Un-American Activities Committee is encountering stiff organized resistance to its Newark "probe."

On May 16, at the conclusion of the first day's hearings, 1,500 members of the United Electrical Workers Union (Independent) demonstrated for three hours in front of the Robert Treat Hotel where the witch-hunting Congressmen were staying.

The U. E. was the main target of the Un-American Committee's attacks in its current "investigation."

The demonstration caught the witch-hunters completely by surprise. That it carried a wallop was attested by Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), a member of the sub-committee conducting the Newark hearings. "This is the worst demonstration and greatest outburst against the committee that I have seen in my three years as a member," he wailed.

On May 18, nearly 1,000 people packed a protest meeting at Essex House sponsored by the N. J. Associates of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Speakers were Charles Allen, former president of the Newark Teachers Union, Dr. Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University, Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton, Leonard Boudin, noted constitutional lawyer, Clark Foreman Director of the ECLC and Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedom.

The meeting was prominently advertised even before the Un-American Committee's hearings started. It was denounced by the Newark Star-Ledger. Legionaire groups threatened to demonstrate in front of it. And the ECLC scheduled the meeting to take place towards the end of the committee's hearings.

Under those circumstances, the large turnout and spirited nature of the gathering registered the failure of the House Committee to browbeat and intimidate the community.

AFL-CIO SILENT

What was lacking to administer a complete shellacking to the House Un-American Activities Committee was the intervention of the CIO and AFL. But the Newark labor leaders remained silent, or worse, in certain cases actually supported the "probe."

The stand of the official labor leaders undoubtedly encouraged the "red"-probers to carry through with its full schedule of smears against liberal and labor organizations.

Oil Workers Head Denounces Use of "Subversive" List

Criticism of the government's policy of arbitrary blacklisting of organizations and individuals was voiced recently by O. A. Knight, President of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, CIO. In a letter May 7 to Chemical Week, managerial magazine of the chemical industry, Knight said, "We view with a skeptical eye these things:

"(1) The Attorney General's list — particularly if improperly used . . . He should not be the final judge of what organizations are and are not un-American. Let a fair trial decide. (2) We do not believe in unsupported, hearsay evidence . . . (3) We do not recognize the existence of any such thing as a 'Fifth Amendment' Communist."

"YELLOW DOG" FORMS

Knight's letter commented on an earlier article in the April 16 Chemical Week which described actions and plans of the companies to fire workers who utilize the Fifth Amendment or are suspected of unorthodox political views. Some companies are using a "yellow dog" application form for potential employes which requires them to disclose past or present affiliation with organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list and to agree to disclose any future affiliation if it should occur. A number of companies have attempted to reach agreements with unions to fire workers who utilize the Fifth Amendment.

Knight's stand against the chemical companies' witch-hunt program is undermined by his own union's policy of expelling and denying membership to "members of Communist organizations."

Despite this grave weakness, the statement of the president of the Oil and Chemical Workers Union is a welcome reflection of the mounting opposition to the government's witch hunt.

A-Bomb Atrocity Victims

These young Japanese women, disfigured by the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, are shown on their arrival in New York where they will spend a year at Mt. Sinai Hospital receiving plastic surgery. The 25 women were classmates in a bombed school who huddled in the basement to escape death.

Latest Big 4 Move Exposes Imperialists' Cold-War Lies

By Shirley Clark

Top-level talks with the Soviet Union have been successfully evaded by Dulles and Eisenhower until now despite strong pressure from England and West Europe as well as from the Soviet Union.

The British Conservatives need the meeting for the coming election campaign. But the biggest pressure on the State Department for the four-power talks has been the hope for peace that has been roused by the series of Kremlin concessions.

The conciliatory attitude of the Kremlin was made clear in the signing of the Austrian treaty, disarmament proposals, and off-the-record hints at German unification and withdrawal of Russian troops from the Balkans.

"BIGGEST DANGER"

Washington's reluctance to negotiate with the Soviet Union became increasingly untenable in these circumstances, and Dulles, forced to yield, hastened to warn the American people in his radio chat with Eisenhower, May 17, not to expect anything to come of it: "The biggest danger of all is the danger that hopes will be raised so high that they can't possibly be realized. . ."

But Dulles cannot hide the fact that it is becoming increasingly evident to everyone that Russia wants peace. Even the editors of the Conservative Big Business newspaper, Herald Tribune, had to say: "It is within the realm of the imagination that, for reasons which are not now plain, **Russia is so anxious to make peace in Europe** that it will be prepared to face up to the real concessions on its part which would permit for the West such concessions as German withdrawal from NATO."

Walter Lippmann, syndicated columnist, was quite impatient with the State Department for letting the Kremlin make all the peace moves. "In the great diplomatic encounter which is now beginning let us not hobble ourselves with our own fixed notions. Let us not give the Kremlin a free field and the initiative, while we stand by beating our breasts and crying out that we are being enticed and ensnared by those oh-so-much-too-clever Russians."

Ever since the cold war began,

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Bosses Loose Murder, Scabs, Iron-Curtain Injunctions on Unions

By George Lavan

MAY 18 — Cheered by the victory of 30,000 strikers against the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, Southern telephone and other strikers girded themselves for a final effort to defeat the current open-shop offensive of Big Business in the South.

In the two-month old telephone strike of the CIO Communication Workers of America, company violence continues unabated. Solidarity actions of other unionists have done much, however, to keep the Southern Bell strikers' morale high.

In Chattanooga, Tenn., a Southern Bell strikebreaker deliberately ran over two pickets and drove away. A passing motorist pursued and caught the hit-and-run scab. Forced to arrest him, local police also arrested the two victims. When the arresting cop was asked why, he replied that the telephone company had ordered it.

"SHOOT TO KILL"

This characterizes the nine-state pattern of police subservience to the powerful telephone monopoly. The whole Southern labor movement is aroused over the action of Mayor Dempster of Knoxville, Tenn., who armed his police with machine guns for use against pickets and then ordered them to "shoot to kill."

A CWA picket, shot in front of the telephone exchange in Pensacola, Florida, is in serious condition. CWA President Beirne gave this background of the shooting: "The man who fired the shot was previously hailed into court for threatening strikers with a pistol on a warrant sworn out by members of CWA. The judge who heard the case freed the man and read the riot act to the strikers, who were not defendants but complainants. In effect, that man was sent out to fire his pistol with the blessing of the court and the company which took him back to work."

Conditions in Louisiana are described by CWA Vice President A. T. Jones: "The company has made much of installing huge floodlights on company buildings and in several cities, police squad cars have followed me about at the urging of the company. In Shreveport, La., uniformed police made themselves evident at a peaceful union meeting. . . Police wagons threateningly parked across the street from and hovered about a peaceful picket line in Monroe, La. Within minutes after I left a picket line a company sympathizer fired a bullet into a crowd of pickets."

To the bitter end, labor-hating L&N carried on its guerrilla warfare against the rail pickets. This culminated in the murder of Charles E. Wright, a striking rail-

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GM, Ford Locals Vote Strike If Pact Talks Fail

By George Breitman

DETROIT, May 16 — Early returns in votes now being taken in 127 General Motors and 67 Ford plants throughout the country show an overwhelming majority of the auto workers in favor of authorizing the UAW to strike for their 1955 contract demands.

All signs point to a heavy vote for strike, if necessary.

Not because there is so much enthusiasm among the auto workers about Reuther's guaranteed annual wage plan, which may cost the corporations as little as four cents an hour per employee, or about the other demands of the UAW in the current negotiations.

Of course the workers favor a guaranteed wage plan, or increased unemployment compensation paid directly by the employers, or any other measure that will help tide them through periods of unemployment. But if there is any widespread enthusiasm for Reuther's GAW in the plants today it doesn't express itself very openly.

Yet the workers will vote almost solidly to authorize a strike for at least two reasons:

1. They are angry at learning that Ford and GM, after coining the biggest profits in history, simply "aren't bargaining."

And their anger increases when they learn that the corporations have answered the union demands by counter-proposals which, "if placed in contract form, would be the death knell of our union" and would "tear up and take away those contract clauses that we fought

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Rail Strike Ends

The bitter 57-day strike of 29,000 Southern railroad workers against the Louisville & Nashville railroad ended May 9 when the company retreated on its refusal to accept the union demand for arbitration of the issues. Shown after negotiations are (l. to r.): P. F. Osborn and George C. Howard, L&N representatives, and Francis A. O'Neill, Jr., chairman of the Natl. Mediation Board.

Students Lead Strike Wave in Singapore

British imperialism has been badly jolted by a strike wave — involving 40,000 workers and thousands of militant high-school students — in Singapore, one of its Southeast Asia colonies. The island city, with a million and a half population — 80% Chinese — is at the foot of the Malay peninsula. The British have governed it under a form of martial law — "emergency regulations" — for the past seven years.

The strike wave began when the Hock Lee Bus Co. set up a company union as a rival to a union formed by its workers. The 300 employes refused to join the company union and were fired. Thereupon they set up a picket line — where they lived in tents with cooking equipment, etc. — in front of the company garage.

STUDENTS PITCH IN

The city's intensely anti-imperialist students came down to the picket lines in a mass with contributions of food, funds and entertainment. In the course of the long, bitter strike the students raised $60,000 for the bus and other strikers.

When police seized the tents, food, bicycles, etc. of the strikers the pickets squatted on the ground with linked arms. They offered no resistance but proclaimed they would rather perish than move. Breaking the human chain with high-pressure fire hose, police closed in and beat the pickets, eight of whom were hospitalized. Strikebreakers drove the busses out of the garage.

The whole labor movement, which is in the process of a great organizing wave, was indignant. The streetcar men walked out in sympathy. Soon 50 more unions were on strike. In defiance of the emergency regulations, which prohibit assemblies and free speech, students held mass demonstrations on the streets.

On the night of May 12-13 when police shot and killed a 16-year old student, fighting became general. A news-eager U.S. reporter, who made his way to the center of the fighting, was fatally injured. On May 16 the bus company surrendered unconditionally. Forty-six sympathy strikes ended automatically. Four unions — with demands of their own — are continuing strikes involving a few thousand workers.

The government, has made the students its special target. It has closed the schools and accused the students of "communism." Under the emergency regulations this is an ominous charge.

Possession of communist documents, for instance, is punishable with death. Unintimidated, the students have broken into the closed schools and demanded classes be resumed. Moreover, the grateful bus drivers and other unionists are strongly backing up the students' demands with publicity and agitation.

Will "Junior Death Chairs" Stop Youth Crime?

By Joyce Cowley

Just as New York Police Commissioner Adams was releasing a report on the continued rise of juvenile crime, the murder of a 15-year-old boy in the Bronx translated his statistics into tragic reality. William Blankenship, a "model" boy from a good family, was shot down on his way home from the movies because members of the Navajos mistakenly identified him as a member of the Golden Guineas, a rival gang.

Newspapers and police officials reacted with the usual monotonous statements about "coddling young hoodlums" and the need for nightsticks. Bronx District Attorney Sullivan added something new by proposing organizations of a semi-military character in the high schools. Queens District Attorney Quinn said that nightsticks were not enough, since "you've got to catch these young punks at an earlier stage before they become full-blown killers." He suggested the woodshed. "There are two policemen in every home — mama and papa. Let them use the stick."

"JUNIOR ELECTRIC CHAIRS"

The Daily News, which has advocated nightsticks for quite some time, concluded in a lead editorial that measures of this type are inadequate. They said: "Most of us are familiar with the lamentations uttered by bleeding hearts and sob sisters whenever an unusually stinking juvenile crime is committed.

"Always we are told that family life has hit the skids since the war, that society fails to provide healthy substitutes for the big-shot I-belong feeling that some youngsters get out of running with weirdly named street gangs, that poor, pathetic little fellows like Santana never had a chance." The News has a program: "More and bigger reform schools and maybe Junior Sing-Sings complete with Junior electric chairs."

Frank Santana, the boy who shot William Blankenship, is a Puerto Rican kid of 17. His father is dead and his mother is on relief. He's been in the first year of high school for the past four years. The principal described him as "incorrigible" and said that he was obviously not normal and needed psychiatric care — which he obviously did not get. A small boy, chronically underweight, he wanted to be a boxer but lost his first two fights in PAL tournaments. So he called himself Tarzan and organized a gang.

Now he is charged with first degree murder and may go to the electric chair. If he gets off "easy" because of his youth, he will probably spend the rest of his life in jail. I don't know if I qualify as a sob sister but I'd say that the life ahead of him in prison will not be so very different from the one he has already experienced.

The things he first encountered on the streets — the savagery and intimidation, the twisted values and demoralization of healthy instincts, the total lack of opportunity for normal and happy growth — he'll find again in the enclosure of tall gray walls.

The thing which hysterical news reports particularly emphasized was the "wanton" character of this crime — it didn't make sense. They were also pretty upset about the behavior of some teen-age girls, who gathered around the police station at 6 A.M. when Santana was being arraigned and cheered him. One of them in a PAL sweater yelled: "Tarzan, we love you."

ANOTHER KILLER

Last week another killer went on trial. The jury deliberated exactly ten minutes before they acquitted him. This verdict means that he will continue to hold down a job on the New York police force.

Two o'clock one morning in February some boisterous young fellows were on their way home from a party. One of them hurled an ashcan cover against the window of a basement apartment. Robert Surrey, an off-duty patrolman, happened along in a cab. (He was on a date.) He says that he shouted his identity and fired in the air. When the boys kept running, he aimed and shot twice. One of the bullets killed John Sterling, 15.

These boys were guilty of a misdemeanor and cops are not supposed to shoot unless a felony has been committed, so Surrey was indicted for first-degree manslaughter. How did the jury manage to reach a verdict of "not guilty" in just ten minutes? It was guided by the charge of Judge Leibowitz, who told the jurors that they could construe the boys' action as a felony second-degree assault, since there were two children asleep in the basement bedroom who could have been cut by flying glass.

Irving Leiberman, a reporter who covered this case for the N.Y. Post, called it a "summation for the defense, not a charge." The Post tried to get hold of the full text of this charge, but curiously enough it was not available. Seems there's a law nobody ever heard of that says the text of a judge's charge shall be made available only when the defendent is convicted.

The judge, once he got this young patrolman out of a jam, turned the full force of his anger against the mother of the boy. It was her fault, he said that her son was dead, since she allowed a 15-year-old boy on the streets at 2 A.M. (Patrolman Surrey, who shot John Sterling, was on a date with a 16-year-old girl.)

Surrey will keep his job but he probably won't get a medal for this wanton and senseless killing. It's just his bad luck that he's in the police force and not the army. As a reader of the Post pointed out: "From bench and pulpit, classroom and precinct, many people — those who want to cure and those eager to punish — are focusing anger and sorrow on juvenile delinquency. **But let the still-threatening war break out, and the same people will be tripping over themselves to bemedal the chests of these same delinquents, whose instincts shall have made them heroes. And should any youth feel averse to killing, doctors and chaplains will vie with each other to straighten him out."**

* * *

Is it surprising that some teen-agers find it difficult to know when a murder makes sense, and whether a killer is a patriotic hero, a mad beast or a police officer carrying out his duty?

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — III

The Civil War against Labor under the NRA

By Art Preis

Section 7(a) was an incidental afterthought and not the main aim of the NRA. As Secretary of Labor Perkins subsequently admitted, the NRA "rested on the idea of suspending the effect of the anti-trust laws in return for voluntary agreements by industries for fair competition, minimum wage levels and maximum hours." NRA was surrounded with a gigantic propaganda campaign, including parades, Blue Eagle symbols everywhere, radio speeches, and thousands of business men swarming into Washington for industry conferences to set up codes of "fair competition."

Lundberg summed it up in his America's Sixty Families: "The act (NRA), in short, sought to restore industrial stability by guaranteeing the status quo of worker and employer, one in possession of little, the other in possession of much. As those industries which assented to the code were exempted from the operation of the anti-trust laws, the government was underwriting monopoly more flagrantly than it had ever done before. In most instances the codes were merely the existing agreements of the monopolistic trade associations, with the government underwriting and agreeing to enforce them: in some cases they were precise copies of these agreements. In almost every instance the authorities responsible for enforcing each code were simply the leading executives of the trade association."

Matthew Josephson, author of the semi-official biography, Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor, concedes: "Perhaps the Blue Eagle was part fraud, and under its frowzy wings too many business chiselers raised wages 10 per cent while marking up wholesale prices as much as 50 or 100 per cent and scheming to curb production."

The Blue Eagle, or the "Blue Buzzard" as it came to be called by the workers, was total fraud. Levinson, in Labor on the March, observed that "the code authorities, completely dominated by employers, assumed the function of fixing hours and wages, frequently — with the acquiescence of the federal government—without even consulting the employes."

LEADING FIGURES OF THE AFL-CIO SPLIT IN 1935: (l. to r.) the late AFL President William Green; John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers President and founding President of the CIO; David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and the late Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Assaults on Labor Under 7(a)

The textile industry adopted the first code, which General Hugh S. Johnson, head of the National Recovery Administration and chum of Wall Street financier Bernard Baruch, called a "model." **It fixed minimum wages of $13 a week in the North and $11 in the South. The average weekly wage in the industry by June 1934 was $10.86.**

In coal, the minimum wage was fixed at $14 a week. The steel industry, which had been working a 10 to 12-hour day, provided in its code for an "eight-hour" day — that is, an "average" of eight hours a day over a six-month period. So long as the "average" was maintained, a particular work-day could be any number of hours.

The auto code fixed minimum wages of 40 to 43 cents an hour —as low as $16 a week for a 40-hour week. The per capita weekly earnings of all auto workers in 1934 averaged about $25. "However, employment is notoriously seasonal even in good times," reported Muste in his previously cited pamphlet. "Thus, for example, the automobile plants under the code in 1934 lost 36.3 per cent of possible man hours. A sample study by the Henderson staff revealed that 45 per cent of all workers in the group received less than $1,000 a year. In one factory studied, one-third received less than $400 for the year 1934 and three-fifths less than $800."

The auto code, moreover, contained the notorious "merit clause," approved by Roosevelt personally. This declared that auto employers "may exercise their right to select, retain, or advance employes on the basis of individual merit, without regard to their membership or non-membership in any organization." This was a formula for enforcement of the open-shop and for discrimination against real unionists on the basis of "individual merit." Subsequently, Roosevelt inserted a further qualification, the "proportional representation" clause. This permitted company union spokesmen to receive positions on bargaining committees on a proportional membership basis along with bona fide unions and "the government makes it clear that it favors no particular union or particular form of employes organization or representation."

The final score of NRA and Section 7(a), before the Supreme Court in May, 1935, voiding the Act as in violation of the anti-trust laws, is contained in a comparison of the growth of the AFL and of company unions during the NRA's two-year history. The AFL recruited—and retained —500,000 new members, bringing its total membership to 3,-600,000. Company union membership, however, increased more than twice as much in the same period—rising from 1,263,000 to about 2,500,000 in 1935, according to a Bureau of Labor Statistics survey.

Roosevelt himself, in a radio appeal for the NRA, on July 24, 1933 had stated: "The workers of this country have rights under this law which cannot be taken from them, and nobody will be permitted to whittle them away but, on the other hand, no aggression is necessary now to attain these rights . . . The principle that applies to the employer applies to the workers as well and I ask you workers to cooperate in the same spirit."

By "aggression," of course, Roosevelt meant strikes. But the workers were not for co-operation with the employers and government in maintaining wages of $12 to $15 a week, "merit clauses" and recognition of company unions. The workers resorted to the only weapon which had ever enforced their rights and improved their conditions—strike action. In the six months following enactment of NRA, the workers were forced to commit a host of "aggressions" in an attempt to get the most elementary rights, first of all, union recognition. **The number of strikes totaled 1,695 in 1933 compared to 841 in 1932 and the number of strikers almost quadrupled in the same period, from 324,000 to 1,168,000.**

Some 35,000 members of Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers were forced to strike in New York City against the code minimums proposed. Then 60,000 dressmakers of David J. Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union followed suit. A dozen or more strikes flared in auto. 50,000 silk workers in Patterson and elsewhere went out against NRA-proposed minimums of $12 to $13 a week. More than 70,000 miners stayed out of the pits in August and September.

If the workers had "rights under this law which cannot be taken from them," as Roosevelt claimed, the coal miners couldn't find what these rights were. The murderous opposition of the employers to unions is typified in the following account of one event in the strike of coal miners in steel company "captive" mines of Western Pennsylvania. The Aug. 5, 1933, Militant reported:

"The miners' wives from the outset joined directly in the battle taking the blows with their husbands and giving blows as the powerful picket line extended over a far-flung territory. One miner is reported killed in typical Pennsylvania steel trust fashion: shot down in cold blood by company plug uglies while carrying the American flag at the head of a picket line. Several other miners are expected to die from wounds received and many are suffering from lighter injuries."

The treacherous role of both Roosevelt and his labor lieutenants was also shown in this mine strike. Roosevelt ordered an investigation of "communism" in the strike. He also ordered the mine union leaders to end the strike. Philip Murray, then a UMW vice president, told in the N.Y. Times of his interview with the President.

"The President then said to me, 'Philip, I want you to get these men back to work.' I replied, 'If there is anything in God's world that I can do for you, I will be glad to try.'" Concerning Roosevelt's command, Murray further told the Times: "Any union or union officials who refuse to obey their command will not live long."

Murray accepted an agreement promising "union conditions" but not union recognition in the U.S. steel mines. It took seven years and another big strike to get a union contract in the "captive" mines.

What followed the signing of the NRA was not the recognition of labor's rights but the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history. Labor was forced into what was a virtual civil war fought on three thousand miles of picket lines for five years. Hundreds were killed, thousands wounded, tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized from 1933 to 1938.

Summarizing six months of "New Deal" atrocities against labor, from July 1, 1933, to Jan. 1, 1934, the American Civil Liberties Union charged that "too many employers confuse Roosevelt's New Deal with Coolidge's New Capitalism.

"The methods of that era are used flagrantly to smash labor's efforts to organize despite the NRA. At no time has there been such widespread violations of workers' rights by injunctions, troops, private police, deputy sheriffs, labor spies and vigilantes.

"More than 15 strikers have been killed, 200 injured and hundreds arrested since July 1. More than 40 injunctions of sweeping character have been issued . . . Troops have been called out in half a dozen strike districts. Criminal syndicalist charges are being used against active strike leaders. The National Labor Board and its regional board (set up under NRA) have lacked the will or the power to overcome the defiance of employers. Labor's rights to meet, organize and strike have been widely violated by employers who fear neither General Johnson nor Attorney General Cummings. Only where labor has been well-organized and has struck with determination have its rights been respected." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 11, 1934.)

In 1934, there were to be 52 strikers murdered and the toll was to mount until the climactic Memorial Day massacre in the 1937 Little Steel strike.

AFL's Response to the Upsurge

During this period of the NRA the AFL did little officially to organize the unorganized. Hostile to industrial union forms of organization, fearful of militant action by the workers, conciliatory to the bosses and government, the craft union officials who dominated the AFL made only timid gestures in the direction of organizing the unorganized.

In August 1933, the AFL executive council was prevailed upon to issue charters for so-called federal locals, local unions directly attached to the AFL rather than to an affiliate and ruled by the AFL top officers. In announcing this policy, William Green made it amply clear that such federal unions would be of a temporary nature and ultimately would be divided among the numerous craft unions claiming jurisdiction over the various types of work done by members in the same shop. "In following such a plan of organization," (federal locals) said Green, "the American Federation of Labor is not in any way departing from the form of organization and traditional policy which it has pursued from the beginning."

Many radicalized workers, particularly those under Communist Party (Stalinist) influence, at that time rejected participation in AFL unions. The Stalinists then followed the line of building separate "revolutionary" unions and called all other labor organizations "social fascist." The Aug. 25, 1933, Daily Worker, reported how the CP's trade union secretary Jack Stachel answered an appeal urging workers to join the AFL. "Stachel said we are against this, except in certain cases like the Railroad Brotherhoods, as the AFL is organizing the workers for betrayal and not for struggle."

James P. Cannon answered this ultra-leftist line in the Sept. 2, 1933, Militant. He said: "We do not expect Green & Co. to organize the masses of unskilled workers in the basic industries for effective struggle. The resurgent struggles of the masses . . . will probably break out of the formal bounds of the AFL and seek expression in a new union movement." He added to this forecast of the coming of the CIO, however, that "the center of gravity at the present moment is unquestionably in the conservative mass organizations. That is where we must be."

It was precisely radical workers active in "conservative mass organizations" of the AFL who gave the impetus to the next great stage of labor struggle. They sparked the upsurge that led to the CIO through three strike battles such as this country had never seen before—the Toledo Auto-Lite, the Minneapolis truck drivers and the San Francisco General strikes.

(Next Week: Three Strikes That Paved The Way for CIO.)

Hiroshima Maidens

By Belle Montague

An article in the magazine Saturday Review, April 9, tells a grisly tale. Twenty-four girls arrived in New York City for hospital treatment. They were horribly disfigured in their childhood and have grown to womanhood in this frightful condition.

The girls are known as the Hiroshima Maidens. When the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in August 1945, the reports stated that all life in the city had been instantly ended. It seemed as if the dream of the ancient Roman tyrant, Caligula, of beheading the entire population of a city at one blow, had come true at last.

But the real truth was worse than Caligula's wildest fancies. Tens of thousands of Hiroshima men and women, young boys and girls and tiny infants died instantly. Other tens of thousands slowly perished from atomic burns. More than 100,000 survived to face a living hell, some of them so hideously mutilated as to defy description.

In 1948 the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission was set up by an Act of Congress; this commission sits in a $5 million building in Hiroshima and studies the delayed effects of atomic radiation upon the victims and their offspring, such as cancers, child dwarfs, and other freaks — but it does nothing to aid those victims who could be restored by surgery to normal life.

Millions of dollars have been spent to subject the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the first mass experimentation upon human beings in the history of the world, but not one penny has been spent to make restitution to them — in spite of their civilian status.

On the fateful morning of Aug. 6, 1945, in Hiroshima the little girls arrived at their school and went down to the basement to collect chalk, erasers, etc. for the school day, but there wasn't to be any school day after all; when they came upstairs there wasn't even a school. Their little friends were lying dead in heaps. The girls who were in the basement survived; they lived to suffer the agonies of atomic burns and to grow to a deformed maturity.

Two years ago the editors of the Saturday Review became interested in their plight and the Hiroshima Peace Center agreed to sponsor a project to bring 25 Hiroshima maidens to New York for plastic surgery and skin-grafting. But this wasn't the end of the story. As awful and incredible as it may seem, foundation after foundation refused financial aid. **One foundation actually refused because it was not certain of the political views of the girls.**

When at last the Mt. Sinai Hospital agreed to donate operating facilities and bed-care, the transportation problem caused another delay of more than one year! Finally the American and Japanese governments gave their blessing to the project. It was announced that the U.S. Air Force would provide the transportation.

Undoubtedly, the two governments realized that something must be done to appease the volcanic wrath of the Japanese people, or it would be impossible to drag Japan into World War III as a vassal of Wall Street.

INCURABLE DISEASE

The American workers must realize that capitalism and capitalist wars are responsible for the fate of the Hiroshima Maidens and tens of millions of other victims of World War II. That's why these same capitalist rulers, who are feverishly preparing World War III, are the worst enemies of mankind. Their ferocity and barbarism far surpass that of the ruling classes of all previous history. They have slaughtered millions of civilians in Europe and Asia. And they now threaten every human being on this planet with the ghastly fate which was already meted out to the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is the supreme duty of the American workers to rescue mankind by taking the power from this ruling class whose disfigured face, pitted by the disease of degeneration of capitalism, can never be repaired by plastic surgery.

...Polio Vaccine Plan

(Continued from page 1)

smiling happily for the victory that cost them nothing — then gave it to the profiteering pharmaceutical business. The stocks of the six favored companies boomed. They rubbed their hands with glee as prospects of more wealth loomed on the horizon.

GOD OF PROFIT

Vaccine was issued that was probably defective. A black market sprang up across the nation. No one even expected that the limited production facilities of private enterprise would meet the need of the nation for vaccine. But none of these facts has shaken Eisenhower. The sacred God of Profit must be served.

Thus production of the vaccine will remain subject to the laws of capitalism where shortages enhance profits, where competition to corner the market induces "short-cuts," where, for a price and with "influence" the precious vaccine can be legally obtained while children in greater danger must go without.

The critics of Eisenhower in the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucrats have demanded federal controls. But they, as well as the Eisenhower-Hobby crew have not raised the demand for federal production and distribution of the vaccine. Yet this is the only way that full protection could be given to the people.

The defenders of capitalist "free enterprise" claim that federal production and distribution of the vaccine would amount to "creeping socialism." But then, the Wall Street gang and their buddies in Washington have always attacked concern for human welfare as "creeping socialism." Wasn't the eight-hour day, child-labor legislation, unemployment compensation etc. at first opposed as "creeping socialism"?

Federal production and distribution of the Salk vaccine is undertaken by the Canadian government without overthrowing the capitalist system. But the greed of Big Business in the United States will not even grant this elementary concession to the American people.

It is true that a socialist government would guarantee to everyone the protection of the Salk vaccine as soon as science made it possible. But that would be a mere beginning — an elementary step. A socialist America would mobilize the productive resources of the country for total war on disease, poverty and slums; it would raise a vast army of doctors, nurses, teachers and research scientists; it would build schools, hospitals and homes in abundance.

When the Big Business propagandists call the proposal to place federal controls on the distribution of the Salk vaccine "socialism," they only show how completely their concern for profits blinds them to the real possibilities socialism would open for the United States.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Disagrees on Role Of Einstein

Editor:

Sorry, but I can't agree with your estimate of Einstein. I have a special loathing for so-called socialists who support imperialist war. Bertrand Russell said: "Einstein and I were men of peace; Hitler converted us to war." I suppose Norman Thomas would make the same excuse, not to speak of the Communist Party. All can talk about socialism; all would agree "in the abstract" but in practice — well that's a different story. The way I see it, when the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were serving time in prison rather than support the war, where was Einstein? Right among those who betrayed the cause of socialism.

In World War I the excuse for social-patriotism was the atrocities of the Kaiser; in World War II, it was Hitler; in World War III, perhaps it will be whoever happens to sit in the Kremlin. There's always somebody.

I can imagine what Lenin would have said about Einstein's support of the imperialist war. Apparently Einstein degenerated since the days of World War I. Well that has happened to many other socialists, but I do object to such people being spoken of as if they were real radicals.

As regards the atom bomb. I think his "horror" came too late. As the Militant said about Yalta, "the evil men do lives after them." It was certainly the worst crime in history to hand that little present to American imperialism. We can draw only one of two conclusions: either he wanted the bomb used against the helpless civilian population of Germany — in which case he had the mind of a Genghis Khan; or else he believed that "our" capitalist class would not use the weapon against helpless people — in which case his intellect was certainly not equal to that of those people who understood better the nature of degenerate capitalism.

No, I cannot admire him, even if I'm in a minority of one. The life-long torture of the atomic victims and their relatives is a terrible monument to him, as well as the danger which now hangs over the world. I cannot think that humanity has lost a friend. I do not deny his scientific achievements, but, to me, he seems a dual personality, or a fine mind warped by the degeneration of capitalism, which has warped so many other human beings in this era. In spite of his abilities, and I know they were considerable, he could not escape the influence of this vile epoch, and it dragged him down to the final degradation of the Great Crime. I believe that is the only true evaluation of him.

B.M.

Cambridge, Mass.

Barefoot Contessa

Editor:

I read "Takes Issues with Review of Barefoot Contessa" in the April 25 letter column and I must say I like your whole series of commentaries on current and popular movies. The brother from New York takes his satires too seriously, I think. Where he says correctly, "The right of any individual to have his own opinion, needless to say, is indisputable," etc., it is a good contribution. But then he attempts to prove the opposite. That's where I got lost because I don't see it. I, too, saw "Barefoot Contessa" and I liked it as entertainment. I think the Militant is currently doing a magnificent job in all departments. Keep up the good work because we need it.

G.H.

Chicago, Ill.

Don't Criticize Soviet Leaders?

Editor:

My donation is for the purpose of helping you a little bit for Marxian education. To prepare the workers for the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, in which each will work for the good of all and all for the good of each. A system in which the worker should receive the full value of his toil without the benefits going to an exploiting class. Please don't talk against the Soviet leaders. They are revolutionizing the world in spite of the fact of all their shortcomings. Yours for peace and goodwill.

R.K.

New York, N. Y.

...Forge Unity in Southern Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

way carman of Mount Pleasant, Tenn., who was shot in the back of the head by a scab. **The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen rushed a donation of $2,000 to Wright's wife and daughter. The union also plans to set up a trust fund for the family of the labor martyr.**

The solidarity of the labor movement in the Southern strike area is inspiring. In Knoxville, where the Mayor issued the "shoot-kill" order, the AFL Central Labor Union is raising a fund for the CIO phone workers and the strikers of Knox Porcelain, a local concern. The CLU unanimously resolved to assess all its affiliates $1.00 per member to be paid voluntarily by the members or from local union treasuries.

In the Southern coastal cities both AFL and CIO seamen have distinguished themselves by their aid to the strikers. Crews of incoming ships hold "tarpaulian musters" to raise funds. Seamen on the beach help with picketing. In a New Orleans solidarity parade of 10,000 AFL, CIO and independent unionists, large delegations from both seamen's unions were prominent.

The CIO National Maritime Union has donated an initial $1,000 to the phone strikers and $500 a week since. The CWA also received an anonymous $500,000 contribution. And the national CIO recently loaned the CWA $1,250,000 and said there would be more if necessary.

The issue in the Southern Bell strike remains the company's refusal to accept an arbitration clause for grievances in the contract in return for the no-strike pledge the company demands. But, as in the Southern railroad strike, the scope of the struggle far transcends the immediate contractual demands and has become a major battle of unionism vs. the Southern open-shop system.

RACIAL SPLIT TRIED

Bell also has been flooding the Southern newspapers with ads for scabs. An attempt to split the workers on racial lines is reported from Atlanta, Georgia. There Bell sent all striking Negro workers a special letter asking them not to picket. It is reported to have had no effect.

An attempt to play Negro workers against white also failed in the big hotel strike in Miami, Florida. AFL union official Jay Rubin reports: "The same hotel owners, who only yesterday refused Negroes any jobs in their hotels and refused Negro guests, today are trying to appeal to Negro workers to cross the picket lines, break the strike and take the jobs."

Another trick tried by the Florida hotel owners is the red scare. They asked the House Un-American Activities Committee to subpoena and investigate strike leaders. Whether the Un-American Congressmen will do so is not yet known.

A feature of the Southern strikes has been the revival of government by injunction. The most brazen use of the court injunction has occurred in an AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union strike in Fayetteville, Tennesee. There a judge enjoined strikers, "their friends, sympathizers, abettors and relatives from coming within 1,000 feet" of the struck Serbin plant.

This meant union headquarters as well as several homes of strikers had to be evacuated under police orders since they were within the iron curtain area. Of the 400 workers, most of them women, 128 have been arrested to date for crossing the boundary line.

THE MILITANT ARMY

If the first week of the sub campaign held a promise, the second week fulfills all expectations, and promises still better things for the weeks to come.

Agents in **Seattle, Buffalo, Detroit, Allentown** and **Minneapolis** all sent in bulging envelopes, and from other cities we received news of plans and mobilizations.

George Clement wrote from Philadelphia, "Our first Mobilization to introduce the Militant to new readers was held this past Sunday. Thirteen of us met and proceeded as a group to the neighborhood in which we had decided to work. In an hour-and-a-half we had sold 46 single copies of the Militant, and arranged to deliver the paper regularly to several of those we had met. The response to our ideas was generally good, and several people have promised to subscribe the next time we call on them. After the mobilization we met and returned to the headquarters, where we served coffee and cake, and made plans for our next visits."

In **Cleveland** they are trying an experiment that could be helpful to other Militant agents. This is what they say: "We're trying to open new fields in the newsstand departmet. We want to try an experiment. You see, we want to distribute some back copies of the Militant with a leaflet introducing the paper and the names and addresses of the newsstands. We figure this could help with the sub drive as well."

Minneapolis, too, has a well-thought-out campaign. **Helen Sherman's** latest report states: "To make Militant readers of our contacts and friends is our primary objective in this campaign. While special efforts will be made to get new subs, an important part of our work will be in getting renewals. A 'Militant Activity' board, along with reports from participants, will portray the all-around activity, results and participation in the Campaign."

In **New York** renewals are coming in faster than we can record them, and brand new subs too, of course. And the sale of individual copies continues without interruption. Last week 100 copies of the Militant were sold at a union meeting. Ann Mann reports: Street-corner sales, newsstand sales and sales by those who just go around button-holing their friends and acquaintances all contribute to New York's campaign.

Remember, Militant readers and agents — we will be glad to print any news or comments about America's leading Socialist paper in this column.

Subscription $3 per year: $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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The True Story of the CIO

It is with pride that the Militant publishes **"20 Years of the CIO"** by Art Preis. As those who have read the installments that have already appeared realize, it is an extraordinarily serious and scholarly work.

It isn't merely a work of research, however. Art Preis, himself, played an important and honorable role in the great class battles of the Midwest from which the CIO emerged. From those picket lines he came to the Militant, where, as labor editor, he closely followed and reported the development of the union movement. For over a decade he covered the conventions of important CIO unions for this paper.

The series is not only timely because of the approaching end of the CIO when it merges with the AFL, but because of the present period and the coming period. Many valuable lessons can be learned from the CIO's history that will stand workers in good stead today and in the days ahead.

But these lessons aren't to be had for the asking. In the brief period since the beginning of World War II all sorts of official and unofficial myths, legends, misconceptions, half-truths and outright lies have grown up about the CIO, what social conditions it grew out of, its birth, how it won its great victories, and how it began to harden in the mold.

A young socialist or trade union militant would have an almost impossible task to dig out for himself the true facts of the history of the CIO, its relations with Roosevelt, and many other points. It is principally for this post-war generation of workers that the series has been written.

But that does not mean it will not be interesting and instructive for the older generation, including those who fought on the picket lines of the Thirties and sat down in the auto plants. Indeed their memories and judgments have been considerably blurred in the intervening years by the propaganda barrage of the labor bureaucracy as well as the boss press about what the early CIO was and how it came about.

The first installments in the series deal with the gestation period of the CIO — that bitter period when the CIO was developing in the social womb of the great depression. The current installment covers the acute labor pains of the NRA strikes. Without a knowledge of these, the birth of the CIO would be incomprehensible.

Even more important are the social and political conclusions to be learned for today from these past historic events. They all have a current urgency, for the same problems in new form still confront American Labor. And they will continue to confront American Labor until the working class learns the basic lesson that all real gains made are made only by its independent action, and nothing is gained by class collaboration, i.e. labor support of "good," or "friendly," or "liberal" capitalists and their politicians.

Labor Solidarity in South

The headlines and front-page pictures about the coming merger of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor feature the meetings and statements of the top union leaders. However, an important news story that goes unnoticed is the anticipation of unity by local AFL and CIO organizations all over the country. With tremendous enthusiasm hundreds of local unions and central labor bodies have gone ahead — without waiting for formal unity at the top — with mergers of local bodies and with joint activities. The ranks of labor and local union officials are ahead of the top leadership as far as labor unity is concerned.

This has been most spectacularly shown in the Southern strikes. Throughout the South there has been cooperation of AFL, CIO and independent unionists in support of the CIO telephone strike and the recent AFL non-operating railroaders strike. Indeed, rank-and-file enthusiasm swept unions with long records of feuds, conflicting jurisdictions and raiding into unified support of the strikes.

Such spirit may well bring the independent operating rail unions into the merged AFL-CIO. That would be good for all labor and might well lead to an end of the jigsaw puzzle, craft unionism, that plagues and divides the railroad workers.

As the Militant has reported, financial, physical and moral support has gone to pickets in the South from all sections of organized labor. AFL Central Labor Unions are assessing their members for funds for CIO strikes. In the great Labor Solidarity parade in New Orleans delegations from unions with bitter rivalries demonstrated together.

The greatest support for the strikers came from the spontaneous action of the Birmingham, Alabama, steel workers who started a sympathy strike against police brutality to pickets. Unfortunately, CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald, who pays more attention to his sartorial splendor than to the workers' desires, strangled this movement after one day.

Aside from a big loan to the CIO telephone workers and some lacklustre statements by Meany and Reuther, the top union bureaucracy has not done much for the Southern strikes. There has been no attempt to dramatize the issues, to treat them as anything out of the ordinary. No top-drawer AFL or CIO leader has seen fit to tour the Southern picket lines or to rally labor support throughout the country.

Yet at the recent convention of the CIO Auto Workers one of the few items in Reuther's speeches that drew real, enthusiastic applause and not synthetic, conventional handclapping was mention of labor unity and suggestion that the UAW contribute $1½ million for a big united drive to organize the unorganized.

This is what the rank and file of American labor want, this is what they hope will come out of labor unity. Maybe this will penetrate into the inner office sanctums of the top AFL and CIO officials. Now is the time to organize the South and the unorganized elsewhere in the country. That will strengthen U.S. labor a hundredfold.

A Small Bleat in a Large Chorus

Recently, a small bleat has been added to the large chorus for "peaceful coexistence." It comes from the group of ex-Trotskyists who publish the magazine American Socialist. This group prides itself on having no program; but every page of its magazine echoes the program of a "sophisticated" brand of Stalinism.

"The popular demand for a new practical settlement between the two major power blocs," they say, "has thus become an unpostponable **must.** A new modus vivendi will not solve all outstanding problems of the human race. . . It will simply provide the basic framework of activity in which peoples and classes will carve out their destinies, and **without which there will be no future of any kind.**"

Curiously, these same people were saying, only yesterday, that all talk of a deal between the Soviet Union and American imperialism was out of the question. They accused us of blindness to the world reality because we predicted that imperialism, confronted by an unfavorable world situation, would postpone its all-out war plans against the Soviet bloc and attempt to gain time and better opportunity by making a "practical settlement" with the Kremlin.

We explained to these experts on world reality that such deals would prove no more effective in achieving peace than the agreements of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. In these deals the Stalinists would give their services in derailing and betraying the revolutions of the colonial people and working class wherever they had influence. And the imperialists would get "the framework," to prepare for World War III under conditions more favorable to their counter-revolutionary interests.

Now, these renegades from revolutionary socialism have pivoted 180 degrees on their literary axis. Not only is a deal possible; it is a "must." Moreover, socialism no longer depends on the independent class-struggle actions of the working class, it depends rather on a "framework" provided by a "practical settlement between the two power blocs."

The explanation for this switch is really quite simple. The coterie around this magazine began its revolt against Trotskyism by discovering a revolutionary mission for the Stalinist bureaucracy. Depressed and demoralized by the apparent omnipotence of American capitalism at home, and equally impressed and deluded by the apparent prowess of the Stalinist bureaucracy abroad, they abandoned the basic class criteria of Marxism in favor of a two-headed thesis:

(1) The American workers wouldn't be shaken from their torpor by anything less than the Third World War. (2) The "irreversible" world revolution, under the leadership of the Stalinist bureaucracy, would bring the downfall of American imperialism.

Thus, having cut themselves loose from the Marxist conception of the working class as the bearer of humanity's socialist future, they can see hope and salvation only in agreements between power blocs that will give the Kremlin bureaucrats time to accomplish their "revolutionary mission."

"Peaceful Coexistence" -- Its Failure Up to Now

By Daniel Roberts

The agreement of Washington and the Kremlin to hold a four-power conference indicates that the antagonists in the cold war are moving toward another series of deals and secret arrangements which the Stalinists, for their part, hope will achieve an overall world balance of power deal.

Assuming that such a deal is arranged, what will be its life expectancy? Will it be the basis for prolonged "peaceful coexistence?" Or will it mark a brief interlude in the open struggle of the antagonistic classes and social systems?

The Stalinists preach that lasting peace through "coexistence" can be the outcome of such negotiations. And they call on the working people in every country to put pressure on their capitalists to arrange Big Four and Big Five conferences.

These cut-rate remedies for the disease of imperialist war conceal the causes that produced the cold war and then compelled the capitalist powers to seek agreements. It conceals the class struggle between working people throughout the world and imperialism which led Lenin to describe our times as the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings.

CANNON'S PAMPHLET

The current development of U.S. foreign policy toward negotiations with the Soviet bloc were forecast at the most intense pitch of the cold war by Marxists. Thus in his pamphlet "The Road to Peace" written in 1951, James P. Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party, analyzed the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the cold war.

This pamphlet was written while the Korean War was still on and when agitation on the part of U.S. capitalist politicians for preventative war and "dropping the bomb" was at its height.

Cannon foresaw that the reverses American imperialism was suffering at the hands of the colonial peoples of Asia might force it, in a temporarily "chastened mood," to return to another deal with the Kremlin; but he showed that such a deal could be no more than a temporary expedient for U.S. imperialism, while it prepared more intensely for war.

The analysis set forth in that pamphlet should be studied by every militant worker who wants to struggle for peace.

Cannon begins by exposing the lie that V. I. Lenin was the author of the theory that peaceful coexistence between capitalist states and the Soviet Union was possible. He shows that this theory originated with Stalin and broke with all Leninist traditions.

Then he shows that the Leninist thesis, that peaceful coexistence of the Soviet Union and the imperialist states for any length of time is impossible, was proved to the hilt — precisely in the post-World War II period.

WHAT YALTA PROVES

At the Teheran and Yalta Conferences, "peaceful coexistence" deals were arrived at between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. At Yalta the three concluded a solemn agreement "that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow," and declared "we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace." "The basis of the agreement," says Cannon, "was exactly the same as that now offered in the current peace campaign of the Stalinists — that the Soviet Union and Western imperialism should live and let live in 'one world.' "

But within two years, the cold war was on and the "enduring peace" promised by the Yalta partners had exploded. Why? Who was at fault?

Cannon refutes the propaganda of the U.S. government that it was Stalin that broke the Yalta agreement and launched the cold war.

As his part of the bargain at Yalta, Stalin undertook to order the Communist parties of Western Europe to support capitalist governments and prevent the working people from creating socialist states. **He stood by while the British army butchered the Greek revolution and restored the hated monarchy to the throne. He agreed to support Chiang Kai-Shek in China and retain capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe, which the Soviet troops were occupying.**

"The Kremlin bureaucrats fulfilled all their commitments and then some," said James P. Cannon. "In the revolutionary situation of the immediate post-war period in Western Europe, the Communist parties, under the direction of Moscow, wrote the blackest record in their long history of treachery to the working class . . . Carrying out their designated task under the Yalta deal, the Communist parties took upon themselves the responsibility for the existing social regime, which could not stand up without them."

WHY THE COLD WAR?

In exchange for these treacherous blows against the working people of Europe and Asia (not to mention the U.S.), Roosevelt and Churchill gave up nothing that Stalin had not already obtained as a result of the rout of the Nazi armies by the Russians. Why then did Wall Street break the agreements and launch the cold war with the intention of passing over to a shooting war as soon as the military and political situation permitted?

Because the imperialist rulers of the U.S. wanted still more. "The simple fact of the matter," says Cannon, "is that the productive apparatus of American capitalism is piling up ever greater surpluses of goods and capital which its domestic market cannot absorb. Having fallen heir to dominion over the capitalist world system, it needs the whole world for markets and fields of investment."

The first moves of the U.S. government through the Marshall plan to try by economic means to tear Eastern Europe out of Stalinist control forced the Kremlin by bureaucratic means to abolish all remnants of capitalist rule and incorporate the buffer zone into the socialized property system.

This aggravated the needs of U.S. imperialism. It led Wall Street, under the Truman administration, to announce that its aim was to "liberate" Eastern Europe — that is wage war to reincorporate these countries in the capitalist property system.

But Wall Street's program aims beyond that, Cannon explained, at the destruction of the nationalized property, planned economy and trade monopoly in the Soviet Union itself.

These were the real goals that led U.S. imperialism — driven by the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production — to launch the cold war as the intended prelude to armed A-bomb assault upon the Soviet bloc.

This is what made a hollow farce of the Joint Declaration of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Yalta that "we are sure that our concord will make it a lasting peace." The unalterable drive of U.S. capitalism toward world domination exploded the Stalinist claims of 1945 that "peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist states" was becoming a reality.

ANOTHER FORCE

Meanwhile, however, another force tore through the Yalta agreement and its pact to maintain the status quo. This was the revolutionary upsurge of the colonial masses in Asia, particularly the workers and peasants of China who put an end to imperialist rule over their country and the dictatorship of Wall Street's puppet, Chiang Kai-shek.

The revolutionary movement in China forced the Stalinists there to abandon their policy of class peace with capitalists and landlords, lest the enormous upthrust of the working people sweep them out of the leadership.

The revolutionary developments in Asia and in Europe confronted U.S. imperialism with an unfavorable relation of forces, as the experiences of the Korean war demonstrated.

These catastrophic setbacks to Wall Street's plans for world conquest forced the U.S. government to alter its war time-table and to open negotiations for more deals with the Kremlin for maintenance of the status quo.

But the fundamental economic demands that led Wall Street to break with the Yalta agreement in 1947 continue to operate. That is why a deal can only be one of short duration, while the U.S. government prepares more carefully and intensely for World War III. Lasting "peaceful coexistence" is out of the question.

Nor can the revolutionary aspirations of the working people be "contained." Lasting peace will not be established by means of a deal between the Kremlin and Wall Street but through the socialist program of prosecuting the class struggle of the working people against imperialism until socialist states are in power throughout the world.

...GM, Ford Locals Vote for Strike

(Continued from page 1)

long and hard to get." (Ford Facts, May 14.)

The leaders of Local 600 are asking the workers to vote yes "in order to protect what you already have and give our Negotiating Committee the necessary support to fight for further gains."

It may seem odd that they place the first emphasis on preserving past gains rather than on winning substantial new ones. Maybe that's because they sense that the workers don't expect really big gains to come out of the present fight. At any rate, the workers do seem to respond more directly to the danger of attacks on their present conditions and such local contractual issues as speed-up.

2. Another reason for a large vote to authorize a strike is the argument that the bigger the vote in favor of authorization, the stronger the pressure there will be on the corporations to really start bargaining, and therefore the less chance of an actual strike taking place.

Walter Reuther himself seemed to rely on these two arguments as much as anything else in the speeches he made last Monday to the national GM and Ford conferences that decided to call for a strike vote.

"The Ford Motor Company has not moved in the present negotiations," Reuther told the Ford conference. "The Ford Motor Company basically has not changed since pre-union days. If they had their way, they would take out the guts of the contract." And: "We are recommending a strike vote not because we want to strike, but because we know that the only time they yield is when the workers are prepared to strike."

ATTACKS SWP

In the same speech Reuther also made a few plugs for his GAW plan. Most of them were routine, but one was rather curious. Discussing opponents of the GAW, he said:

"The National Association of Manufacturers say we are threatening free enterprise, while at the same time, the Socialist Workers Party, at its recent convention, said we are selling out the workers. When the two political extremes in America say we are wrong, then we are confident we are going down the right road."

Even if we were to grant that Reuther has all his facts straight in this statement (which we don't), his conclusions would still rest on very shaky logical foundations. Perhaps without realizing it Reuther here has accepted the Eisenhower claim that the "middle of the road" is the right road.

"Political extremes" are unfashionable at Solidarity House nowadays. But that doesn't mean that the working class "political extreme," the Socialist Workers Party, is necessarily wrong. Let's take one example out of hundreds:

In 1948 Reuther told the workers that the way to get repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, passage of civil rights legislation, peace and many other desirable things was by electing the Democrats. The SWP, pointing to the capitalist nature and record of the Democratic Party, denied these claims. **The workers listened to Reuther rather than the SWP, and the Democrats won the White House and both houses of Congress. Result? Taft-Hartley stayed on the books, civil rights bills stayed off the books, Truman took us into the Korean civil war, etc. Experience showed that rejecting the "political extremes" may be easy but it can be dangerous too.**

But let's leave Reuther's "logic" and return to Reuther's "facts." Unfortunately his facts are no stronger than his logic.

In the first place, the Socialist Workers Party has had no "recent convention." Its last convention was in 1954. Reuther has at his disposal the largest research department in the labor movement. A little less inclination to indulge in subtle redbaiting and a little more concern for accuracy could have gotten him this information.

What we think Reuther is talking about is the state convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Michigan, held last month. This organization, which has no connection with the Socialist Workers Party, is a sectarian group which is opposed in principle to any union or labor organization that does not advocate the Socialist Labor Party's conception of socialism, and does not support them in any of their struggles against the capitalists. It consequently exerts no influence within the labor movement.

At its state convention last month the Socialist Labor Party condemned the guaranteed annual wage, just as it condemns any and all demands of the labor movement.

SWP RECORD ON ISSUES

In the second place — and Reuther knows this without consulting his research department — the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant are not opposed to the guaranteed annual wage either in principle or in the specific form in which the UAW is fighting for it now.

Before the March convention of the UAW in Cleveland, we subjected Reuther's GAW plan, or as much of it as he allowed to be publicized, to a searching criticism from the standpoint of the auto workers. We raised questions about obscure aspects of the plan, pointed out the modesty of the demand, called attention to possible loopholes and actual inadequacies, and expressed our opinion that the fight for a 30-hour work week at 40 hours' pay is more basic and more urgent than the GAW, and should accompany it.

On the eve of the convention at which the UAW accepted Reuther's GAW as the number one demand for 1955, The Militant, in an editorial dated March 28, said: "Once the delegates at the UAW convention pass upon the program of demands, the supreme question before the auto workers will be the program of action — how to win the demands."

It is in that spirit that we have treated the question ever since. Whether or not the UAW chose the best demands, its defeat in this fight would be a blow to the labor movement as a whole and an encouragement to the capitalist class as a whole. That's why every militant worker and every socialist supports the UAW in this fight and calls for a resounding yes vote in the current voting.

Our support for the UAW in this fight against the corporations is **unconditional,** that is, it does not depend on what Reuther says or doesn't say, on whether he tells the truth about us, etc. It is not Reuther the man, the bureaucrat, the capitalist-minded politician, whom we support, but the auto workers in a struggle against their class enemy.

But our support, though unconditional, is not **uncritical.** Proceeding from the interests of the workers, we reserve the right to criticize any and all actions of the union leadership that play into the hands of the capitalists. We not only reserve but exercise that right. We exercise it now and we will continue to exercise it, whether or not Reuther has the decency to retract his false statement about us. And we urge all other independent-minded workers and groups in the labor movement not to let Reuther's attack on us intimidate them into keeping quiet when they have criticisms to voice.

One thing in Reuther's statement we do agree with: that the Socialist Workers Party is the left-wing "political extreme" in this country. When Reuther's middle-of-the-road adaptations to capitalist thinking and politics are exposed in all their bankruptcy, the American workers will recognize the need for a party like the SWP and for its program of class struggle to end capitalist exploitation and misery. Meanwhile the more advanced and class-conscious workers, besides helping the UAW to beat the corporations in the present struggle, should acquaint themselves better with the SWP and its program.

Doom Town, U.S.A.

"Doom Town" after the latest test A-bomb blast in the Nevada desert. "Rescue workers" stage operations amid ruins of dummy town populated by mannequins built for destruction by the test explosion. Had this been an H-bomb, the explosive force would have been hundreds of times as powerful.

The Road to Peace

ACCORDING TO LENIN
AND
ACCORDING TO STALIN

By James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, MAY 23, 1955 — NUMBER 21

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Union Organizing in the South

Since more than half of the Negro workers in the United States are in the South, where they constitute more than one quarter of the total labor force, the right to organize into unions in the South is rapidly moving to the top of the agenda of problems of the Negro struggle for equality.

Most of the daily papers in the North don't give us much information about Southern union developments until they reach the proportions of the railroad and telephone workers' strikes, but the Wall Street Journal of May 9 and 10, in two articles on labor and the South, gives a very frank account of the situation by staff reporter Stephen K. Galpin.

This is what he concluded from "scores of conversations with union, employer and public officials in a half-dozen Southern states":

"The Southern work force remains, as it has for years, less than 15% unionized." But, there are a number of new factors in the situation — new aid is expected from the AFL-CIO merger due in December; unions are merging their staffs for joint organizing campaigns; Northern companies opening new plants in the South are proving easier to organize.

"Some companies" Galpin points out, "have national labor contracts that automatically extend key benefits to new plant workers once the union is certified as bargaining agent. This is a big boon to organizers, since all they need to do is point to the benefits and tell the workers: 'Vote union and you'll get 'em all'."

But there's another side to the picture. "Employers and their community allies are retaliating," Galpin reports. "Factory towns such as Carrolton, Ga., Baxley, Ga., and Hohenwald, Tenn., have lately passed or started enforcing laws to curb or keep out union organizers." The "solicitor laws" require licensing of union organizers and provide stiff penalties for violations.

"Carrolton charges union organizers a $1,000 license fee and $100 a day for the privilege of soliciting members and says violators can be assigned to 60 days of road gang work.

"In Baxley, Ga., . . . the license costs $2,000 and the penalty is a $300 fine or 30 days in jail. Hohenwald, Tenn., passed one of these laws in February. The penalty for violation there is a $50 fine for each offense, and each person whose union membership is solicited constitutes a separate offense."

Another device used by the employers is the formation of "Citizens Forums or Citizens Committees to lead the fight against union organization. These are made up of a community's leading citizens and are free from the restraints that the Taft-Hartley Law clamps on employers' speech and action."

This technique was used by the employers in Smithfield, Va., who set up a 'Citizens Committee' to attack the CIO as a purveyor of 'hate and dissension'." They also instigated a phoney "independent union."

Galpin cited an example of the successful use of all of these techniques by the employers in Smithfield, Va., against the CIO's attempt to organize the two local packing companies, P. D. Gwaltney & Co. and Smithfield Packing Co. Because 80% of the plants' workers are Negro, another feature was added — the use of a couple of Uncle Toms to organize the company union.

Wall Street Journal gloatingly reported the Labor Board election was lost — 23 to 243 at P. D. Gwaltney & Co., and 176 to 289 for the company union at Smithfield Packing Co.

The Journal should have added: There are now 199 workers in Smithfield who were not intimidated by the Citizens Committee or taken in by the Uncle Toms. These are the people who will win full equality for Negroes in the South.

Police Brutality

By Art Sharon

A guy who can barely stand before the judge in a courtroom, his face covered with bruises, a handful of teeth gone and pleads that his written confession was extracted by the cops with boot and blackjack has a good case. Everyone will believe his story over the cops' story that the victim fell down a flight of prison stairs.

And if he comes into court barely able to stand, for the pain in his kidneys, but with no sign of bruises and tells of how the cops used a rubber hose on him, public opinion, fairly well wised up about cops' methods and cops' mentality, will view police denials skeptically.

But recent years have brought sinister developments in police methods that are little talked of, little understood and hardly believed. What the Nazi Gestapo borrowed in great admiration from Stalin's GPU now has found its place in the arsenal of the more "advanced" police departments, like that of New York City.

The reader should note here that in the police profession a code operates not unlike that operating in the very top summits of pure science where the practitioners recognize no narrow borders of nation or politics. Whenever two cops get together it makes little difference that their uniforms, their tongues and their immediate loyalties differ. They are sure to compare notes and exchange experiences and mutual congratulations on professional advances and successes.

So it is that "psychological brutality" as it is called by the U.S. Court of Appeals has become part of New York's police department practice.

This court last week lifted the curtain just a little bit to verify what the police have denied time and again. In a decision that granted a new trial to a prisoner now serving a life sentence in a New York state penitentiary the court criticized the police department of New York City for its use of "psychological brutality." They described this as "far more cruel, far more symptomatic of sadism" than physical brutality.

Judge Jerome Frank in announcing the court's opinion said, "the police interrogated Caminito almost continuously for twenty-seven hours with but a brief interval for rest in a cell so badly equipped as to make sleep virtually impossible for a man harried by the questioning. During this long period the police in effect kidnapped him; they kept him incommunicado, refusing to allow his lawyer, his family and his friends to consult with him. . ."

During the long questioning two women and a man were brought in to face the prisoner. He was not told that they were detectives. Each falsely pretended to identify him as the person who was sitting at the wheel of an auto during a shooting.

Three days after the court's decision the New York Police Department announced a change in rules for citizens complaining of police brutality. Instead of having to make the complaint at the station house where it occurred the citizen could make it at any station house or police office. The reason, according to a police official, was that citizens told of getting beaten up a second time when going to make the complaint. It was rumored around New York that the move was urged on the department by its public relations expert.

Notes from the News

LITERARY WAITER WINS case before New York arbitrator. The boss had tried to fire him because he was writing a book about the restaurant owner and the customers.

* * *

A KKK FIERY CROSS was burned in front of the recently-purchased home of a Negro family in Atlantic City. A white neighbor rushed across the street and knocked the burning racist symbol over, shouting, "They shouldn't do that. It's a sin." Police arrived and carted off the cross but left no protection for the couple and their five children. A short time later huge stones were hurled through the front windows. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is scheduled to open its 46th annual convention in Atlantic City on June 21.

* * *

"HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST," a six-page tract published by "Bird Dog" Wilson's Department of Defense, gives some infallible rules for detecting the "subversives" in our midst. "Communists" can be spotted by the issues they raise. These issues include: "McCarthyism; violations of civil rights; racial or religious discrimination; immigration laws; anti-subversive legislation; any legislation concerning labor unions; the military budget; and 'peace.'" All these issues are dealt with in the Republican and Democratic party election platforms.

ANTI-JIM CROW FIGHT HAS BEEN WON in Cincinnati's amusement park, Coney Island. The first day of the 1955 season saw the admitting of Negro adults and children. This breaking down of racial barriers was spearheaded by the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, an affiliate of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) in a three-year fight. Management's decision on desegregating the swimming pool at the amusement park will not be made public till after Memorial Day.

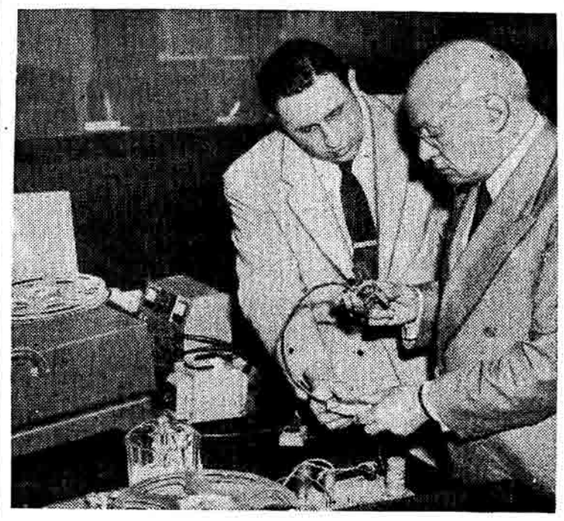
* * *

A 24-HOUR STOP-WORK meeting has been called for June 6 by members of local 10 of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union. The meeting is in protest against the impending trial of Harry Bridges, president of the Union. The trial is set for June 20. Bridges is accused of getting his citizenship by fraud when he swore that he had never been a member of the Communist Party.

* * *

DEATH RATE IN MINES UP. A preliminary report from the U.S. Bureau of Mines shows a sharp increase in both the total and the rate at which coal miners were killed on the job during January. A total of 38 were killed in fatal accidents and 1,780 injured. The 6% increase in deaths was despite the fact that employment in mining has declined drastically.

Wiretap Demonstration



The latest in wiretap eavesdropping technique is demonstrated by expert Bernard Spindel (1.) to Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) at congressional hearings on proposed legislation to legalize wiretapping. Spindel tuned in on Celler's phone to show how easy it is to do.

From Detroit

More Speedup Firings

Eight workers in the trim department of Chrysler's automotive body division (Briggs) were fired on May 13 because they couldn't keep up with the speedup. Other workers in trim walked out in protest and the corporation sent home 10,000 workers from five Chrysler plants.

The corporation accused the eight of engaging in a "slowdown." But Pat Caruso, president of UAW Local 212, said they "had not been able to keep up with the work after the company reduced manpower on the line." He said the union would meet with management to ask their reinstatement.

What happened here closely resembled the firing the previous week of four workers at another Chrysler plant, Dodge Main, also the result of speedup. But Local 3 leaders are apparently not supporting the victimized workers at Dodge. The Local 3 paper has a statement condemning "irresponsible action" by both management and some workers, and says nothing about fighting to restore the jobs of the four who were fired for resisting the speedup. On May 16 the corporation fired four more trim workers at the Briggs plant, and there was another walkout.

* * *

Carl Stellato was re-elected president of Ford Local 600 by a six-to-one majority over his two opponents combined. He received over 24,000 votes. But there were some upsets in the unit elections. Horace Sheffield, president of the Dearborn Iron Foundry unit, and the leading Reutherite in the local, ran behind Godfrey Franklin by almost 300 votes; although he made the runoff to be held later in May, Sheffield faces defeat, partly because he ran out on his promise to support a Negro candidate for international vice president at the UAW convention in Cleveland. On the other hand, Wally Quillico, president of the Dearborn Assembly unit, and a well-known anti-Reutherite, failed to get a majority of the votes, though he ran first, and was also forced into a runoff.

Over 35,000 out of the local's 48,000 members participated in the election, or around 74%. As Ford Facts points out: "This is much higher than the percentage of voters who participate in the national elections."

* * *

Auto production has reached its 1955 peak, according to Ralph Watts, automotive expert of the Detroit News. He sees signs that the workers who have been getting overtime have now "had it." Some plants are also beginning to lay off probationary employees.

The all-time record of 216,629 cars and trucks was set in the week ending April 30. Production went down to 202,112 the first week in May, and though there was a rise the next week — up to 210,767 — it still fell short of the record. Inventories, estimated as high as 750,000 — a handy thing for the corporations during contract negotiations — are also at a record high.

* * *

"Detroit police censorship of pocketbooks is the tightest in the country," the Detroit News proudly reports, and its police censor bureau list of proscribed pocketbooks is "avidly sought after by other police censors, religious groups," etc. The censorship is being challenged in the courts by Pocket Books, Inc. Assistant Prosecutor John J. Rusinack is the man who OK's the police censor bureau's blacklist. He has a simple test for making a decision about a book, he says: **"If I feel that I wouldn't want my 13-year-old daughter reading it, I decide it's illegal. Mind you. I don't say that it is illegal in fact, I merely say that in my opinion it would be a violation of the law to distribute it. The distributors usually cooperate by withholding the book."**

Campus Papers Denied Right To Publish Ad from Militant

By Winifred Nelson

ST. PAUL, Minn., May 14 — An advertisement for the Militant was refused for publication by newspapers of two private colleges here today.

Hamline University's Board of Directors banned the ad from the student bi-monthly paper, the Hamline Oracle. According to Jack Terpstra, business manager of the publication, the student staff did not object to the ad, but the University's Board said "no!" They gave the excuse that such advertising made unsuitable reading for young people who read the Oracle.

At Macalester College, Professor Ivan Burg, faculty adviser fo the Mac Weekly, student newspaper, assumed the responsibility on his own for banning the Militant ad, without consulting the student staff of the paper. His reason was that his college is trying to raise $100,000 for a new field house, and that his contribution will come from businessmen who would not like to see a revolutionary publication advertised in the college's paper! "Our students," he said, "are children of professional people and businessmen who are opposed to liberalism."

In both these cases of censorship on the campus, students who work on the publications involved had no voice in the decision as to what is to be printed in their campus papers. It is a dangerous day for academic freedom when students are not allowed to decide for themselves what to read or what to publish.

Students should take warning. Thought control means the end of intellectual freedom!

* * *

The ad, which was submitted to the student newspapers as a local activity in the current Militant campaign, appears below:

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PHONE: 9-MAin 7781

Trial in San Francisco Aids Union Smashers

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, May 15 — Hugh Bryson, former president of the now defunct National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, is on trial here, charged with swearing falsely that he was not a member of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party. The government charges that he lied when he signed a Taft-Hartley affidavit in 1951.

The NUMCS has been under constant attack since they were expelled from the CIO for being "Communist dominated." In addition to persecution by the government they have had to fight against jurisdictional raiding by Harry Lundeberg's Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The SUP, after years of trying, finally won an NLRB election to represent the Cooks. But only after the NLRB granted a three department election on board west coast ships in which Lundeberg controlled two of the departments.

The government, in a surprise move, imported Judge William C. Mathes to handle the Bryson case. Mathes is the Los Angeles judge who conducted the trial that sent the 14 top leaders of the California Communist Party to jail.

In a scant two hours, the judge, handling the entire proceeding by himself, handpicked a jury of seven women and five men. Absent from the jury panel was any representation from the working class. Just what section of society the women came from is hidden by the designation "housewife." The five men list themselves as a salesman, an auto service manager, a civil engineer, a bank employe, and a retired contractor.

MORE GOVT. WITNESSES

In the first week of the trial the prosecution presented nine witnesses who swore that they knew Bryson as a "Communist." They were mainly disgruntled or expelled members of Bryson's union.

The first witness to identify Bryson as a Communist was William (Shanghai Abe) Handelman. He is the leader of a group known on the waterfront as the "dirty dozen." This group had been ousted from the NUMCS for anti-union activities. They went to court and in 1951 were ordered reinstated and awarded damages for lost pay.

Handelman says that he broke with the Communist Party in 1938. He claims that is the reason why he and his group were ousted from the union. This government witness swears he attended "numerous Communist meetings" in 1937 and 1938 where Bryson was present. **The defense flatly denies these stories. As a matter of fact Bryson was at sea or in the hospital during most of the time Handelman claims to have known him in the Communist Party.**

Another witness for the government was Alex Harris. He was the chairman of a "rank and file publicity committee" fighting Bryson on the waterfront. Richard Gladstein, Defense Attorney, got Harris to admit that large sums of money were contributed to his committee by someone listed as "H. J."

It was brought out that "H. J." was in reality Harry Johnson, assistant secretary of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific. The ledger showed "H. J." apparently contributed $18,000. Harris admitted that he received money from Johnson but said, "I don't remember that kind of money."

UNION BUSTING

As the trial progressed it became apparent that more than Bryson's alleged "Communism" was at stake. Judicial support for Harry Lundeberg's jurisdictional raids was playing a leading role. Bryson's indictment and trial has been a major asset to Lundeberg in consolidating his hold over West Coast seamen. The trial was probably the final torpedo to hit the already floundering NUMCS and put it out of business.

Both partners in this union busting get paid off — Lundeberg gets a rival union smashed; and the government has forged a new link in their union-shackling chain.

On May 11 Bryson's attorneys, Richard Gladstein and George Anderson asked Judge Mathes to: (1) Order a judgment of acquittal because of lack of evidence; (2) Strike from the trial record the testimony of eight government witnesses; (3) Force the government to strike from the indictment either the charge that Bryson was a member of the Communist Party or the separate charge that he was affiliated with the party.

The Judge denied both motions without comment.

Gladstein at one point in his argument in behalf of the motions said: "This is a time in America when it is not easy for a defendant, no matter what the charge is, to expect to be acquitted by a jury if it is even suggested he had any connection with the Communist Party. Juries convict because they are afraid to do otherwise."

The trial is in recess until tomorrow when the defense is scheduled to start presenting its case.

Moral: Look Out When Boss Says He Loves Union

Four young women from Wynne, Arkansas, recently arrived in Racine, Wisconsin. They climbed out of their car with big picket signs and made straight for the Rainfair, Inc. plant. The shift coming to work was surprised at the Southern picket line, but honored it and learned the story.

Rainfair, in addition to its Wisconsin and Illinois plants, has been operating a pants factory in Arkansas. There it pays the legal minimum of 75c an hour—about $26 a week (after deductions) for a 40-hour week.

The Arkansas employes of Rainfair organized a local of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Rainfair tried every trick in the right-to-work law book and others besides. With the workers a captive audience, its executives, the mayor, and other bigwigs denounced the organizers as "outside" agitators. It threatened to move rather than deal with the union. The local newspaper echoed the anti-union yowls. Nonetheless a great majority of the workers signed up with the union. When the company refused to recognize or bargain with the union, the workers walked out. A strike meeting voted to send a picket squadron to Wisconsin.

Racine Labor, a local newspaper of the AFL-CIO unions, wishes the Arkansas girls success in an editorial that scratches its head in wonder at the labor-hating attitude of Rainfair, Inc. and recalls:

"It wasn't so long ago that officials of the firm attended the anniversary celebration of ILGWU Local 57 here and paid tribute to that union and its officials in Racine, Chicago and Milwaukee."

. . . Big-Four Move Exposes Lies

(Continued from page 1)

the State Department has peddled the lie that the war danger is all a result of Russian aggression. A huge military program, they claim, has been forced on the U.S. because the Soviet Union is either planning to invade the capitalist countries or is plotting to "overthrow" the capitalist governments. How does this explain the course now being followed by the Soviet Union?

While Russian troops occupied Austria, the latter's entry into alliances hostile to Russia was excluded. Now, since the Austrian treaty, the withdrawal of those troops leaves only moral pressure for "neutrality." That isn't much when one considers that Austria has a capitalist economy which puts it into natural alliance with the capitalist side of the world conflict. **Neutrality is at best a tenuous and temporary status. When it collapses, there can be little question as to which side it will fall.**

The contradiction between the State Department's propaganda line and the real state of affairs is clearly seen in all the speculations as to why Russia made the concessions. Neal Stanford of the Christian Science Monitor suggested: "It (the Soviet Union) is counterattacking on the diplomatic front. It has established an eastern counterpart of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization so it can bargain an 'Eastern NATO' for a western NATO at the conference table. It has signed an Austrian treaty as evidence — as 'proof' of peaceful intentions. It has neutralized Austria."

If the Soviet Union is bent on world conquest, why should it want to bargain off its armed forces for those of the West? Why did the Kremlin allow Austrian neutrality?

WHAT KREMLIN WANTS

The sweeping concessions made by the Kremlin fully confirm the socialist analysis of the war crisis. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia does not want world revolution — or war with the United States. They have bargained away the struggles of the working class in the hope of peace with the U.S. in the past and they will still make deals.

Dulles' embarrassing position does not arise from inferior diplomats and propagandists, but from the fact that Dulles does not want a genuine peace. There is no correspondence between what Dulles tells the American people and what he's really out to get.

IMPERIALIST PLANS

The war program of the U.S. is now adapted to a long-range perspective. American imperialism has decided it must defeat the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist revolts in the colonial world before it can launch its atomic war against the Soviet Union.

Washington wants to consolidate the position of capitalism against the workers of Western Europe and the U.S. before it undertakes a war with a country that is close to being its military equal.

The capitalists figure that once the back of the labor movement is broken in West Europe and the United States, once the colonial world is again saddled for the imperialists to ride at will, then U.S. imperialism will be prepared to settle accounts with the Soviet Union. Then come the hydrogen bombs.

In the meantime a series of deals with the Kremlin, aimed at extracting the last possible service out of the Stalinists as betrayers of the colonial and working class revolutions, has been agreed upon by the most powerful capitalist rulers in the U.S.

But American Big Business doesn't want the war tension to relax to the point where it can no longer use the "danger of Communist aggression" as the basic pretext for maintaining a war economy and a war atmosphere domestically.

We must remember that the premise of the witch hunt, anti-labor legislation, the give-away program, the whole project of preparing World War II, rests on the cold war lie of the "communist menace." Thus, peace talk must not to be allowed to get out of hand to the point where the American people can no longer be bulldozed by the slogan of "national security."

Book-A-Month Plan

May Selection

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